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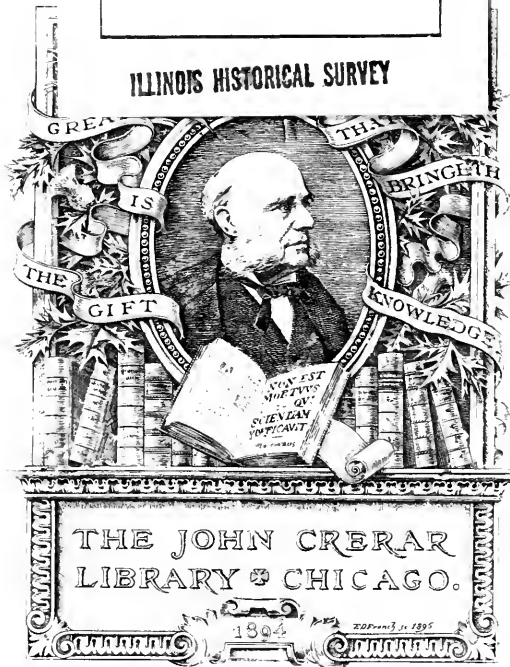
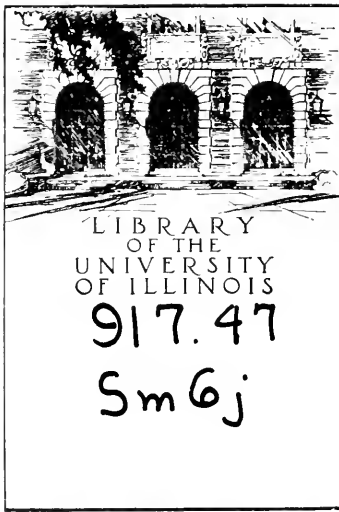
JOURNAL IN AMERICA

1837-1838

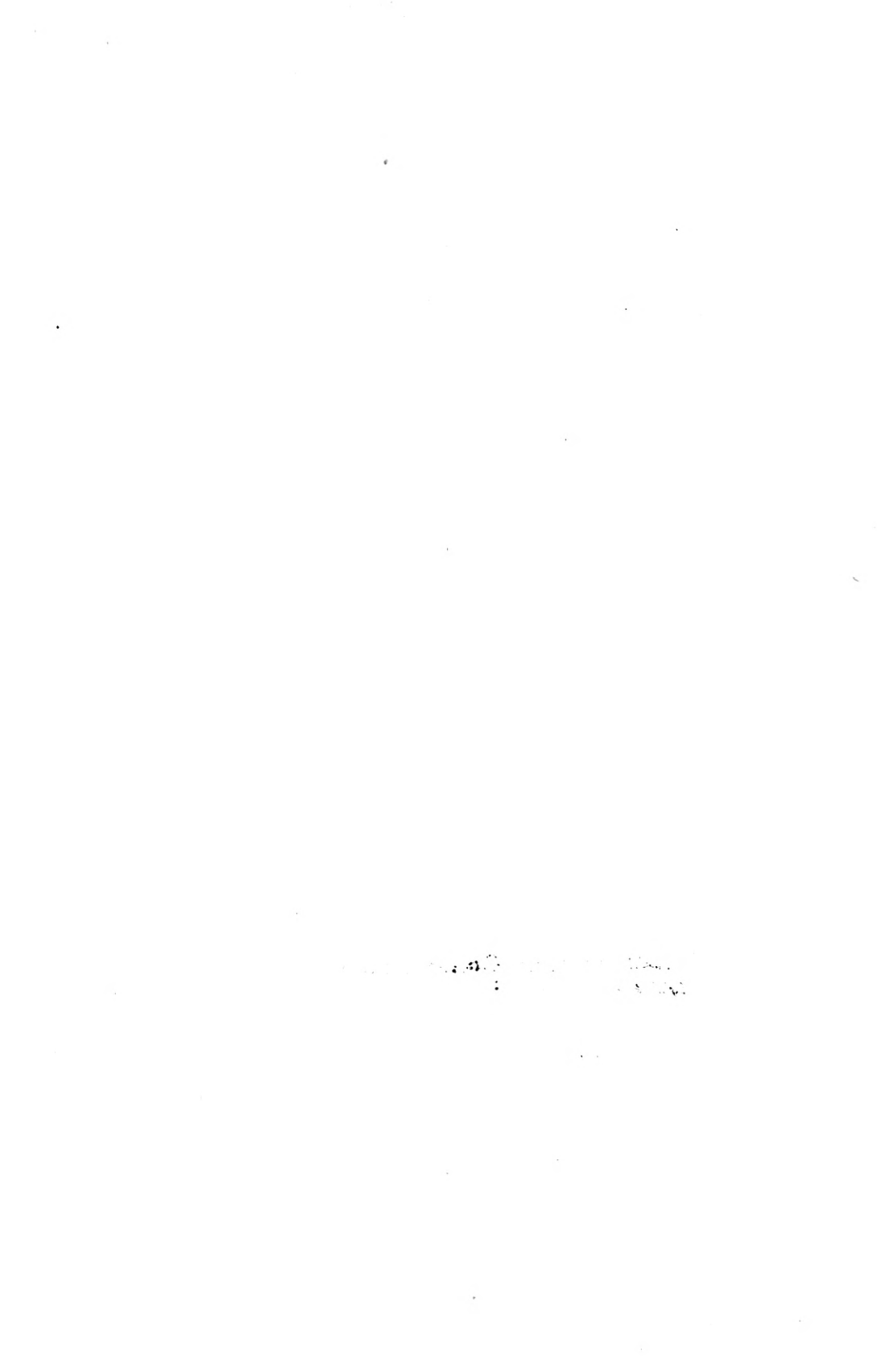


BY

JOSHUA TOULMIN SMITH



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JOURNAL IN AMERICA
1837-1838

Heartman's Historial Series Number 41

JOURNAL IN AMERICA

1837-1838

by

Joshua Toulmin Smith

Edited with Introduction and Notes

by

FLOYD BENJAMIN STREETER

Archivist, Michigan Historical Commission

Ninety-nine copies printed for
CHARLES F. HEARTMAN, in Metuchen, New Jersey
Nineteen Hundred and Twenty-five

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PREFACE

The greater part of the information which should be put before the reader is included in the historical introduction. It remains here to call attention to the editorial principles which have been used in the preparation of the manuscript for the press. As far as possible the original manuscript has been produced verbatim. Where it has been necessary to supply words or add letters in words in order to make the meaning clear the portion supplied is printed in brackets. A few slight errors have not been reproduced. The capitalization and punctuation in the original manuscript has been followed.

I am under obligations to the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library for the loan of the manuscript. I owe much to Dr. George N. Fuller, Secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, for valuable help and suggestions.

FLOYD B. STREETER.

Lansing, Michigan,
May 18, 1925.

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Historical Introduction

Among the English writers who visited this section of the country in the early part of the nineteenth century and wrote accounts of their travels was Joshua Toulmin Smith, whose Journal was procured by Mr. Clarence M. Burton in London, England, some years ago. This Journal was kept by Smith and his wife during their journey from New York to Detroit in 1837 and their return as far as Utica in 1838.

Joshua Toulmin Smith was born at Birmingham, May 29, 1816, and was the eldest son of William Hawkes Smith, an economic and educational reformer. A zealous student of literature and philosophy, young Smith first prepared for the Unitarian ministry but abandoned that vocation in favor of law and at sixteen he was articled to a local solicitor. Removing in 1835 to London he was entered at Lincoln's Inn with a view to the bar.

Meanwhile he was active with his pen. At the age of seventeen he wrote an "Introduction to the Latin Language," for the class at the Birmingham Mechanics' Institute and in 1836 produced a work on "Philosophy among the Ancients."

In 1837 he married Martha, daughter of William Jones Kendall of Wakefield and came to the United States. Influenced by Harriet Martineau's favorable account of the West they decided to locate in Michigan. The removal from an environment of culture and refinement where they enjoyed the conveniences of civilization to the

frontier with its primitive mode of life was a great change. They found conditions far different from what they had expected. They were highly disappointed. Their disappointment is recorded in the Journal.

This section of the country was being conquered from the wilderness at this time. The chief modes of travel were by the slow-moving train, the steam boat and the stage coach. The wagon roads were almost impassable. The jolting which this cultured Englishman and his wife were subjected to in the stage were among the many unpleasant experiences on the frontier. Detroit was a small place and had no street lights or pavements. The cart wheels sank into the mud up to the axle and cows are said to have roamed about the city. At this time Michigan was beginning to feel the effect of the Panic of 1837. The State being newly settled and a number of elaborate projects having been undertaken the people suffered greatly from the economic crisis. Entries in the Journal reflect the financial situation.

The Canadians were revolting against the British government. Being a loyal British subject Smith strongly disapproved of the rebellion and the part American sympathizers took in it.

While in Michigan Smith lectured on phrenology in Detroit and Ann Arbor. He applied for the position of Professor of Mental Philosophy in the University of Michigan. Because of the bad financial situation and the fact that the University building had not been commenced, the Board of Regents decided not to make an appointment.

Smith and his wife came to Michigan with favorable impressions. However the frontier conditions, the bad financial situation, the American

sympathy for the Canadian revolt, the lack of refinement and hospitality according to their standards and other discouraging factors caused a change of feeling and they left the State disgusted.

They returned to Utica where the Journal ends. Smith delivered a series of lectures in that city and later went to Boston where he lectured on phrenology and philosophy.

In 1839 he published "The Discovery of America by the Northmen in the Tenth Century," and wrote several minor publications. In 1842 he returned to England, settled at Highgate near London, resumed his legal studies and was called to the bar in 1849.

Beginning his literary career early in life Smith was a very active writer and produced, in addition to the works mentioned, a number of volumes on legal, historical and scientific subjects. A full account of his works is to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

He declined an invitation to stand as candidate for Parliament for Sheffield in 1852. In 1854, with others, he formed the Anti-Centralization Union and wrote the thirteen papers issued during its existence. Three years later he established the "Parliamentary Remembrancer," a weekly record of action in Parliament with historical commentaries and illustrations. The work on this and his practice at the parliamentary bar broke down his health. He was drowned while bathing at Lancing, Sussex, April 28, 1869.

This Journal up to our arrival at Detroit was written on loose sheets and copied into this book Jan'y 1st 1838.

Left¹ England [via] "South America" Barstow

¹The first part of the Journal is in Mrs. Smith's handwriting.

Capt. 16 Agt 1837. Arrived at N. York after a favourable passage of 30 days at $\frac{1}{2}$ 10 A M 15 Sept 1837. First impressions of the city more favourable than anticipated. Surprised at appearance of hotels. Shown into a large & handsome apartment in American Hotel a portion of which was divided off for a bed-room but in such a manner as not to offend the eye: the partition only extended half way up the wall & thus leaving plenty of room for circulation of air. Attendance during whole time excellent & attentive. Particularly struck by civility (not servility) of all attendants in Hotel & elsewhere. Amazed at quality & variety of dishes brought to table at all meals. Would much have preferred a single plain joint & simpler bread.—New York a fine city.—City Hall handsome building but bad taste to have foundation red granite & rest white marble—has an imposing effect.—Noticed particularly “Lafayette Terrace.” Broadway greatly exaggerated in general description. Great drawback to the health & comfort of N. York is its distance from & want of country walks—Much stuck by appearance of women, waists like wasps. *All* deformed & unhealthy looking. All gent[leme]n to whom introduced remarkably kind attentive & obliging. Much pleased by kind & friendly feeling. Delighted with Dr. Follen—

Left N. York Tuesday 26 Sept [via] Steamboat for Albany. Steamboat ill constructed & ill arranged. Not allow man & wife to walk down stairs together. How absurd! Must arise from young state of society & false notions of courtesey—exceedingly unpleasant & must give way to more generous feelings as society progresses. N.

B. Americans possess singular courtesey to Ladies—exemplified in that M. wanted a [biscuit?] to-day (not feeling well enough to go down to dinner) & when I asked Captain to let me have some for her (I offering to pay) he *refused* unless she would come down to dine tho I told him she could not!! Courtesey this!! The scenery of the Hudson fine during the first 30 or 40 miles particularly about West Point but in general nothing particular. Wants the bright gleams of sunshine & then it would be something. Were much amused at the names given to places—Athens for instance is a poor hamlet of about 100 wood cottages.

Reached Albany at 7 o'clock. Congress Hall pleasant Hotel nice rooms—great civility—Charges not so high as at N. York where we paid 88 dollars for 10 days stay.

Arrived at Utica 27th by Railroad from Albany distance about 100 miles. 6 hours & $\frac{1}{2}$ on Journey—that is 15 miles an hour while the Liverpool & Birmingham performs the same distance in $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Railroad laid on wood—*very shaky*—dreadfully noisy & very unpleasant on account of sparks from engine—this arises from the fuel being wood instead of coal & must be remedied with all its inconveniences—The railway is preferable to common stage. The country of the Mohawk Valley is very beautiful. We had a rainy day so that we could only see it under great disadvantages. Still its beauty was evident—Utica is a pretty city—Many streets *very* pretty having trees on each side & being broad & nicely paved—sad rainy weather while there & saw the first *walking* [House?]

29th From Utica to Auburn by stage our first travel in this vehicle. Very different from an English stage. The carriage holds 6 (*professedly*)

but they take any number 2 back & front & 2 on a seat slung in the middle. This is not nearly so commodious & convenient as a French Diligence Roads *horrid* 75 miles distance & 12 hours on road—The roads are left when once made to nature alone & are consequently dreadful especially in wet weather such as we had. While at Auburn visited the state prison there & were very much pleased by the arrangements. There are complete departments of almost every trade & the operations of each are carried on to the fullest & most perfect extent. There were in the prison about 600 prisoners & it was about to be enlarged to twice its present size: the whole establishment covers 5 acres of ground. We saw the prisoners going to dinner—'Twas a most curious sight they walked one behind another in companies. One bad arrangement is conspicuous, they are made to return to work *immediately* after meals. This must have a very bad effect upon digestive functions & of course tend to injure the health. The system of silence I think is *bad*. It can have little practical good & must do an immensity of harm. It seems to me that it must often terminate in insanity for the thoughts forbidden utterance will turn morbidly upon themselves & the result must be obvious. Upon the whole that spirit of warm *benevolence* does not breath through the establishment which flows through every part of the asylum of Hanwell. Tell me not these are criminals, the others lunatics. *Each* is confined on account of some erroneous training of the mental faculties which require to be corrected & each should be treated as a *moral patient* with kindness & not suspicion, & yet alas! suspicion with its hateful blast taints every Avenue of the Auburn establishment. Look at the innumerable peep

holes for confirmation of this assertion and there is no tone of benevolence in any of its superintendents but rather of force and scorn. All the prisoners without exception look sallow & wan.

We determined to shake off the gloom of the morning which was very wet by a walk in spite of the rain which cleared up, & after trying to make a dinner of sundry good things spoiled, viz potatoes underdone & chicken *untrussed* and swimming in butter *merely melted*, devouring 18 peaches we set off and found the village rather pretty—houses prettiest most simple & comfortable of any we have hitherto seen.—The sky having cleared off we had the benefit of a bright sun light & remarked that the neighbouring scenery was very sweet—The Autumnal tints are much more brilliant than in England, some of the reds are quite carmine & the yellows very bright—Had our journey from Utica been made in sunshine we must then have forgotten in the beauties of the landscape the dreadful jolting which was beyond description—as we progress westward we perceive strong symptoms of our approaches to barbarism. At Utica we were barely attended to & here our Host's son was kind enough voluntarily to come and pick his teeth, supported by the mantle piece, while he was answering our questions as to roads &c, in a disagreeably independent manner. Toulmin acquitted himself during the parlance with great self government & credit to himself, while I, poor foolish I, felt ready to burst. We do not at all wonder at what is said respecting manners &c—Whoever visits America must carefully avoid Tea & Coffee—Every one asks in the stage whence you come & whither going.

Oct 1. This was a fine morning so at 5 o'clock

we put ourselves into a stage for Rochester (The motion of these stages is horrific. 'Tis like the violent pitching of a vessel when there is a strong wind a head, & the Coachee sits aloft mindful of his horses & apparently *unmindful* of the vehicle at his heels, for bang he goes, over rutt, puddle, or stone each as nothing in his sight.) We were much pleased with the small lakes Cana[n]da[i]-gua & Geneva. The town of Geneva is beautifully situated, & the distant views of it reminded us much of English scenery—Arrived at Rochester late in the evening and went to bed. The house was full and the chambermaid who attended on us was so well mannered & handsomely dressed that when I first addressed her I thought it was a *daughter* of the Host—A white muslin gown with very smart black silk apron and neatly dressed hair—

Oct 2d—Were much interested in this place, as it were new born of the woods: only 25 years ago nothing of the present town which numbers 20,000 souls existed! all was forest!! The Houses are brick & good[;] the Hotel of the U. States *very good*. We took a railroad hence to Batavia, the road lay through much forest & land undergoing the process of clearing—both of us strongly felt the sublime while reflecting on the past, present & future, as we passed through these leafy depths & entered deeply into the feelings which penned “there is a pleasure in the pathless woods.” Remarked that the only characteristic of these masses of trees which came up to our ideas of forest scenery was, their *great extent*. No majestic timbers such as we see in English & which we feel have defied the blasts of many winters—All are tall & thin, the consequences of their density—Remarked that the poor wood cutters whom

we passed on our route looked somewhat like what Frankenstein must have done, when his monster first arose: they stared with visible emotion at the monster (our train) they had made. This was the first unlucky day we have yet had—Lost our Carpet Bag containing all our body linen—Toulmin thought he was going to die. Frightful shower of rain which wet me through—Dined at Lockport & then went to examine the curious locks which gives name to the place—there are two sets of 5 successive locks.

In the year 1812 the spot whereon now stands the city of Rochester, a city containing a population of 20,000 individu[a]ls was the centre of a vast forest which the foot of civilized man had never traversed—Behold now the difference—this is indeed “progress westward”—The recent origin of the place is conspicuous on all sides in the condition of the land—Everywhere the half burnt stumps of the trees not the plain or the drear forest itself over spreads the whole surface of the soil. It is curious & to a reflecting mind must give origin to a long train of ideas—to consider when passing along the way in the railway carriages, that here we are thus in active employment of that which may be considered as the very highest exponent of *what is called* civilization—i e locomotive steam carriages—in the very midst & surrounded close on all sides (for the forest comes close to the edge of the line for several miles) by the mighty boundless forest, planted by the hand of nature only and which the foot of man has never traversed—Here is the most striking antithesis of Art & Nature which can perhaps be witnessed—We noticed as we passed a new method here employed of destroying the trees in order to clear the land. formerly we had observed they

were burnt up—here we saw whole districts covered with trees but all *dead*, for acres in extent & we saw that every dead tree had a ring cut near the root through the bark—the method is *certainly* effectual and it had a most curious effect, thus to see forests of dead trees—We arrived at Batavia about 11 & then immediately [went] to Lockport where we remained all night—Next morning we proceeded to Niagara by stage, understanding the route taken by this vehicle was more interesting than the Railway—the country was very fine—we saw today the most extended mass of forest we had yet seen—From a high point of the mountain ridge we looked down towards Lake Ontario & then we saw as it were an ocean of living leaf. It extended far as the horizon before us & on either side as far as the eye could reach, & an elevated position gave us a greater command of the distance than ordinary—It was *very fine sublime*. There was more diversity in the forest scenery this day than usual & as we penetrated its depths in the stage, we were more struck than ever, with its sublime effect. We passed through an Indian Village of the tribe of Tuscaroras—saw many of the inhabitants and observed their huts covered with bark roofs—differing thus much from those of the whites. Saw Brock's monument & had a fine & distant view of the *Falls of Niagara*—Ah! this distant glimpse was *sublime* in the extreme & gave a just foretaste of what a nearer view would disclose. We approached Niagara & hastened as speedily as possible to the side of the river. Shall the description be attempted or shall we rather say with Fanny Butler "Oh God what a sight!"

Long shall memory cling to the recollection of our 1st day spent at the Niagara Falls Oct 4th

1837—A glorious day—bright sun—frosty crisp air—& scenery sublime! Oh! life has indeed been worth the having, fresh youthful life a blessing, a happiness for which we *both* felt grateful to the originator of so much beauty. It struck me today that a visit to this place, on such a day as this would be an effectual cure for all those unhealthy souls whose minds cramped by bigotry or ignorance, cause them to look upon Nature, & her works, as a prey to sin & under its ban. Oh! let

over

such people but once stand upon these precipices, contemplate the grandeur of these falling waters, follow the curling foam & spray glistening in the sunbeams, drink in the beauty of the contrasting Autumnal tints—and they must indeed be callous if they do not open within them a well spring of feeling—happiness.

Ah! sweet Goat Island! And ye tembling waters which wash its sides, wash on, on, on for years yet so that thousands yet may know your charms, & feel through thy means the visible beauty of a bounteous God—On this day we took with us some little of the substantial aliment which nature's necessities require and satisfied our hunger while sitting on the rocky summits of the Falls and snatched from the roaring torrents just rushing down to add fresh diamonds to the cataract beneath, some pure sweet classic drops to slake our thirst. We made this day, each 3 sketches of the Falls from 3 difft points of view. A man passing expressed a wish to have one of T's—& offered him money but, I saying he only drew for pleasure presented him with one of his sketches for which he received a beautiful rosy cheeked apple & a friendly shake of the hand!

The following morning—the weather being

very unfavourable for remaining longer at N. we departed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past one by Railway for Buffalo where we arrived at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 & duly took up our quarters at the Eagle—

5-16 0-47. Augst 6th Walked about Buffalo in order to discover the various beauties of the place—Upon the whole pleased with it. This too is another wonderful place. In 1818 it contained one house, now contains [we] were told, 20,000 inhabitants. Saw many good houses as good as first rate houses in England, both as to size & stile but² we afterwards learned that their construction & internal arrangements are very inferior—all here is *for show*.

On 7th took our places by steamer ship "Columbus" for Detroit: during voyage coasted along shore all the way—rather different to what we had been told in New York viz. that there were no ports along the Lake—Lake Erie a fine lake—the two days of our voyage very fine—Reached Detroit about 4 o'clock on Monday morning the 9th. Here then at length we are in the "Far West" as it called—750 miles W. of N. York. 4,000 off dear Old England. Having passed in our way through Albany, Manheim, Utica, Sullivan, Manlius, Syracuse, Jordan, Marcellus, Auburn, Seneca, Waterloo, Geneva, Cana[n]daigua, Lima, Caledonia, Palmyra, Rochester, Batavia, Byron & near Athens, Troy, Amsterdam, Rome, Lenox, Lyons, Moscow, Pembrock, Clarence & Homer!! Strange medley of names—

In the course of our travels we have observed that the people here always use nautical terms in traveling—They describe a situation by the compass "talk of the voyage" of being "all aboard" &c this doubtless arises from *all* their ancestors

²The remainder of this entry is in Smith's handwriting.

having come hither over ocean & having in the voyage acquired nautical language. We observed many constant expressions—always commencing answering a question with the word “Well”—always if not catching your meaning say “how” instead of the English “aye” &c &c. The spitting is abominable—the mode of living at Hotels very uncomfortable—the public tables much against our taste—cooking *horrid*. *Everything* is saturated with butter—To the public mode of living we however doubtless owe it that we met with such good Hotels as we everywhere did. They talk of the “Far West” yet the accommodation is universally much better than we should meet with in many country towns in England.

Detroit—Our first impressions of this place were favourable. Our first day was beautifully bright & clear and we walked the round with much unction and real pleasure, after escaping the horrors of a high pressure Steam Engine, than which conveyance we could obtain no other to sail up Lake Erie. I felt much surprise when I was shown the Governor’s house, a building good enough but much inferior to several others in the same street, and equally so when told that tho’ possessing more real power than the King of England his income was not more than 2,000 dollars per ann—So much for feeling bred up in the Old country—This man by name Mason³ unfortunately for us just now at N. York so that for the present Doctor Follen’s letter must repose quietly in Toulmin’s pocket—We are at the American Hotel a good house but where we find fewer comforts (at least in accordance with our English notion) than any place we have hitherto visited—

³This was Stevens T. Mason, first Governor of the State of Michigan.

Saturday night Oct 14th A memorable night—
The first of our drinking tea in our own private
abode, followed by the divertisement of scanning
& adding up sundry bills for necessary furniture
&c paid during the course of the day—a snug little
parlor & bed room with a good *handsome* dark
closet & magnificent lumber room form our abode
for which we are to pay 7 dollars per month rent
14 additional dollars for attendance!!

O! how we did enjoy this evening our tea, for
we could take our own time, talk over sundry
matters & not feel obliged to scald our throats
least we should be the last at table—it is just two
months since we sat at our own family fire side—
I once thought I should never live to be tired of
roaming but four months constant changing has
begun to work a change in my feelings on that
point—

Marketing in a strange town & country is by
no means an enviable employment—Some people
we found very civil & *one* amused us much by
telling Toulmin when he went to enquire why
certain articles which had been ordered had not
been sent, “that he’d have nothing to do with
him.” We are going to sleep under a *comforter*
until our Blankets make their appearance, which
are at present at N. York & as feather pillows
are too dear for our purse at present a deer-hair
bolster is to supply their place until we have eaten
enough fowls to fill our pillows—I must not omit
one grand proof of the splendeur of our apart-
ments—In the two sash windows there are only
48 panes of glass!!

Saturday night Oct 21st Only half a dollar
wanting in the balance of accounts relating to
the expenditure of \$475!! And this me thinks
the first weeks settlement of our house keeping

&c &c—is very satisfactory and highly creditable to two such spend thrifts as myself and my husband!

Another item in our account book, & which is equally satisfactory is, that from the different situations & conditions of the countries we have traversed in our progress westward the stock in hand with which we left Old England has actually increased 25 per cent or a quarter of the original sum!!!! this profit added to the sum of interesting information and pleasure we have enjoyed during the last four months, makes a total gain of which few people would be ashamed and which we think is well worth going through the matrimonial ceremony to obtain—

Here it comes! “Hurra Hurra” and one runs to the window with true English expectations, to feast our eyes upon a crowd, numberless & noisy with flags & banners waving in the air; all we have for our pains is, first, a long waggon some 20 feet from prow to stern drawn by 4 clumsily harnessed horses, and all bespattered with mud; in this are seated a dozen drummers & trumpeters, who with infinite skill so contrive to agitate the airy medium that it is quite impossible to distinguish any sequence of tones, at all in accordance with any known melody. Then follows a political emblem the execution of which is well worthy the rude attempts of an infant state, a huge canoe or badly shapen boat mounted upon wheels, whereof the sailors perform their characters by diving and rowing the surrounding atmosphere with wooden oars: this is succeeded by a stage whereof the horses are adorned with trumpery flags about a foot square, and the sides & seats with fine concretions of Mother earth—at the tail of this succeeds another vehicle equally

ingenious, for the accommodation of Tory voters whose zeal is either asleep or questionable. These with two other common carts drawn by ghostes of horses & their owners in their everyday brown coat, followed & surrounded by about 30 or 40 ragmuffin looing men & boys all of which look as tho' they had escaped from some prison, formed the procession which supported Governor Mason in the election of Oct. 1837. O I forget two brilliant marshals whose prancing horsed[s] did their best to appear grand in a drapery of blue & gold—

Novr 6th & 7th were the days of election of Gov-[erno]r deputy & members of senate & assembly of the State of Michigan. This was a set contest between the two parties Whigs & Democrats—Most despicable exhibition each party made in procession—very little excitement but I am most astonished & disgusted at the abominable mode in which the elections are conducted. The parties avow openly that they have had recourse to any & every means to carry the election. I have been told by one party that they themselves have sent 70 Irishmen to one spot by ship with order to perjure themselves & vote for their party, & if when they got to their destination they refused they were not to be landed. After waiting there they were to be shipped to some other point & to vote there—By the same party I was told that when the Marshal had been sent by Mason to canvass for him they sent some ahead of him to tell the people he was come to assist them—The tricks &c are truly iniquitous. Coventry in her worst days was vergin purity in comparison. This is vote by ballot—Hurra for liberty & vote by Ballot!!!!

8 Jan'y 38⁴ Much worthy of record has passed before our observation since last date of Journal.

⁴Smith's handwriting begins here.

1888
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Circumstances have prevented its entry.

We have noted often the truth of the remarks so often made that go where you will hear of nothing but dollars & Business. We heard on the first Sunday after arrival these words from the mouth of a preacher in the course of his prayer "Those of you who have come up here to *transact your business with the Almighty &c*"!! The extraordinary number of slang phrases has attracted much attention as well as the extraordinary pronunciation of many common words & misuse of many other words—all these are noted together at the end of the volume.

We have now to note here the remarkable sway which party spirit & the mere love of *office* has here. There has been rebellion for some weeks in Canada against the British Government. The name of Liberty has been sounded most absurdly in a cause instigated merely by a few demagogues for it is admitted on all hands by those acquainted with the matter that the Canadians are better off than they could possibly be under self government or "independ[en]t existence as separate state." The word Liberty excites prejudice in the minds of all these [super?] Americans & they would rush to join the contest heedless of all consequences & heedless how far they commit their government bet[wee]n wh[ich] & G[reat] B[ritain] treaties of peace now subsist. Several hundred men have been armed & drilled here & this with the actual knowledge of the executives & all in authority. Even arms have been stolen from the arsenals to the number of 600 stands with't any precautions being taken even, as it is credibly assured me, with the determined non opposition of the Sheriff, U. S. Marshal & Gov[erno]r. Why is this? It is thus. The present

Gov[ernors] are democrats. All the French here (& they are numerous) are of that party. All these have sympathies with Canada & the executive & others are afraid that if they *did their duty* & opposed movements here they would lose the French vote at the next election. Here is a despicable motive in this glorious "*republic*" influencing men to let self interest & love of office predominate over all claim of country or duty.

I actually heard a man the other day say that he was *proud* to be carried away by feelings in favour of Canadians—that is (viz interpreto) he was proud that his reasoning faculties had as little power as that the *name* alone of Liberty should be sufficient to urge his conduct without any regard to the justice of the application of the term: & this is the way with all here—None of them know the state of the case & because *Liberty* is cried—as it has been by every tyrant & demagogue yet who has had a purpose to gain—they w[oul]d peril their own honour & country by reckless folly.—

There is little of real liberty here—nothing in comparison of the true spirit of liberty which prevails in England—Liberty of opinion exists not & without this the name of freedom is but a mockword.—What is it that the despot fears in fact but *opinion* & what is it that excites his arbitrary tyranny but opinion—Here there is *no* freedom of opinion.

Every day only makes us feel the more in what bright comparison *England* stands by the side of *America*.

Today (Jany 8) a body of 400 men have gone down to Gibraltar to dislodge some rebels who have taken quarters there. It was only because they could not absolutely avoid it that the authori-

ties at length came forward to put an appearance of observing Laws. They are gone—but they will do nothing—If the rebels are there they will give them time to go very likely will give them more arms & provisions—Dastard villains are they all. They have endangered the peace & safety of this city & of the U. S.—None can tell how it may end & whether this city may not be in ruins ere long.—The rebels are only 15 miles off Their band is composed entirely of the worthless & abandoned who have nothing to lose & all to gain & who think this a good opportunity—If they fail in their attack on Fort Malden (as they must from its well guarded state) they had as soon turn back & sack this city as not—Our chief hope is that they will be all cut to pieces.

gents

By the bye forgot to mention that folks here always go about calling on New Years day on *all* their friends—They go twos & twos or more & look most absurd—It happened to be a wet day this time & their Sunday best got sadly bespattered.

13th Jany

Ah it is glorious how these villains—"loafers" as the American term is—have been treated at Malden—Sadly discomfitted indeed is their condition. Wretches to assume the sacred name of liberty as the cloak of blackest villainy & murder that name to commence by robbing the arsenals of guns & to go on to pirate steam boats. One of the boats which they stole was put under the command of Theller⁵—who lived next to us in Larned

⁵This was Dr. Edward Alexander Theller, an Irishman, who was born in Canada in 1810. He came to Detroit in 1832 and was a wholesale grocer, practicing physician and druggist. He was captured on board the schooner Anne and sentenced to be hanged, but escaped to the United States. In 1839-40 he was editor of the "Spirit of '76," a Detroit newspaper, and later was an editor in California and superintendent of schools in San Francisco. He published a book called "Canada in 1837-38." He died in California in 1859.

St—This wretch left his wife & a large family to go & fight against his native country—His fate has been such as he *most richly* deserved. The fool had command of the stolen schooner (Anne) in which were placed all the stolen guns & provisions. He sailed down opposite Malden & there out of wanton cruelty fired into the midst of the women & children on the shore.—The water was low & the wind drifted the vessel nearer land than he intended. The British bravely sallied out & waded in the water up to the side of the boat & seized it thus.—The fight was desperate but the brave British secured the schooner—Many of the pirates were slaughtered & Theller taken prisoner & sent to Toronto where he will be hanged—a punishment well deserved. The vessel had on board 300 stands of arms—stolen from Detroit besides several barrels of gunpowder & provisions—A rich prize this & bravely won. The pirates were within pistol shot—the whole body of them—during this action & never offered to stir. They were left by this with not more than 2 rounds of cartridges. There soon was mutiny among the pirates themselves & they turned off their commander Sutherland—a fellow of most abandoned character who has been editor of three most black-guard papers in New York & thinks this a fine opportunity to make something out of the confusion & disturbances in Canada. The fellow being discarded came up to Detroit & was here very properly apprehended for contravention of the laws of the United States. But this is a country of Democracy & is *law* to be of any avail in a free country? Who w[ou]ld be such a tyrant as to affirm such a thing. No! the fellow has been this morning brought up, as a farce, before the judge for examination as to whether there is sufficient

cause for his detention or giving bail. The proof given was *most complete*. Not the slightest truth was wanting & even the wretch himself had the opportunity to declare that as long as he had a nerve in his arm he would do as he had done—& yet the judge was *affraid* to find him guilty & discharged him in the face of all law & justice.

Yes this is America free America!—Let America make *herself* free before she talks of assisting Canada—Here is a judge afraid of fulfilling Law. This is all of a piece with the whole [solemn?] farce which has been played in this fearful matter. It is much to be feared that dreadful consequences may follow. This conduct is as much as telling the pirates that they may go & plunder all the arsenals & stores & sack burn & ruin & destroy,—& none will prevent them.—But what of all that—this is the land of liberty! Hurra! Hurra! Down with Law, Justice, Independence, & free opinion! Liberty for ever!

Many *very many* here, long for a monarchical government & in that it *must* end—This state of things cannot last.—

16th Jany Yesterday afternoon [we] went over to Canada & saw & enquired a little into the matter. It appears that *none* of the Canadians have joined this rebellion. The great majority of those who are attempting to plunder the country (under the mockword of “patriots”) are Americans. The Canadians to a man are strenuous supporters of the British Governm[en]t. They have all rushed to the standard voluntarily & we were informed that not a man could be *compelled* to join the rebels—rebels indeed they can hardly be called *pirates* is the very proper term. The language of the Canadians uniformly is, “We see rather too much of Democracy on the other side

the river to want any of it here." There are now upwards of 2,500 men well armed & drilled on the other side, well prepared for an attack & *all having something at stake* all being land owners or sons of landowners.—And here on this side are a few of the *vilest scum* of creation—men having nothing to lose & all to gain—these band together in pirate troops with the "loafer" in chief Sutherland at their head—& talk of invading the country!!—a complete *invasion* certainly 'twould be for not a man on the other side but detests & scorns their vile hypocritical "patriot" cant.—All on the other side wish that they wo[uld] go—& would that they were there—They would soon be cut to pieces & there would be an end to all traitorous schemes which it is evident they are determined (from Sutherland's own words) to keep up as long as profitable. That man was certainly borne for the gallows. [He will?] have it yet.—Abandoned wretch wishing to repair his ruined fortune by bringing a whole people into trouble by piratical attempts at plunder—careless what responsibility he heaps upon the head of his country.

Wednesday⁶ Jany 24th Last night Toulmin gave the first of Ten Lectures on Phrenology in this City of Detroit and as the information was communicated *gratis* the room was *quite full*: to-night however will try their zeal. Amongst the numerous remarks that were made on him afterwards was the following truly national one, by a young Irishman "O Mr. Smith is a nice man & if he gets into trouble I will fight for him"!—Toulmin commanded the attention of the audience so well that they seemed almost to forget some of their odious & most disgusting practices &

⁶Mrs. Smith's handwriting begins with this entry.

which cannot be indulged in without making a noise Well subscribers at first number 25 but afterwards increased to 30 regular ones with generally about 9 or 10 "droppers in" This is some of the first fruits of American promises which experience has now taught us to estimate as not worth a rusk!—perhaps I should rather change the term America for Michigan, we have not seen enough of the States yet to give such a sweeping condemnation—T's lectures I think are highly creditable, They are well digested, powerful exceedingly interesting & abounding in *facts* which arrest the attention of every candid mind. Amongst his *regular* attendants were Schoolcraft,⁷ Farnsworth, Fletcher, Houghton & Pitcher all men of education & strong mental powers.

Saturday night Feby 17th This is the close of a somewhat eventful day—The Detroit Regeants have ere this decided in a manner upon our residence or non residence in this State⁸ & the Prime Minister of our Domestic economy has taken her final departure, rather than return home from a Christening of one of her friends, at the reasonable hour of *ten* o'clock The morning's sun rose & smiled upon us brightly this morning & we were all in peace & good will[;] its setting saw us all equally obstinate in the persuit of our own opposing determinations—I record this incident as the beginning of our troubles with servants in this free & independent Land!!

O Detroit what a barren and inhospitable City

⁷Schoolcraft says: "This gentleman lectured acceptably . . . " *"Personal Memoirs,"* p. 594.

⁸Smith applied for the Professorship of Mental Philosophy in the University of Michigan. At the February meeting of the Board of Regents of the University the matter was referred to the Committee on the Number of Professors. At the March meeting this committee reported "that the present situation of the University forbids them from recommending at this time a selection."

thou art! Thou shalt sit enthroned as the Queen of Muddy Streets, through which do saunter thy gaunt lean cows, which after feeding upon what thy generous inhabitants cast from their kitchen doors are killed and quartered to be cooked—but to be eaten—aye theres the rub—that is frequently an impossibility. Gristle, skin & bone, pervade the very marrow & boiled, baked, or fried ones teeth suffer in the attack. Nor are thy people much more inviting they call and stare, profess and then are seen no more *One* family alone has bid us kindly welcome to this place, & this we will not forget—Our peek into the fashionable world last week at Mr. Brush's was by no means enticing & we now only grow more & more impatient of our sojourn here—To settle in this place would in my opinion be almost as far from heaven as Lucifer was after his 9 days fall—

We have this day spent 20 dollars of Wild Cat money⁹ taken at the Lectures—spent it because we could not keep it for next week it may all be bad—a pleasant state of things! however we have secured a very nice addition to our Library—The terms Wild Cat & Red Dog are given to monies whose credit is going or gone. The delectable Maid who left us so hastily the other night is married—we were fortunate in being freed from her O Money, Matrimony & Inhospitallity Ye & Detroit shall all go together!!!

March 22. The Regents have fixed our doom. Their reply sent in a most unformal way, was to the effect that in consequence of the monetary

⁹Michigan suffered greatly from bank failures in the late thirties. In 1837 there were sixteen chartered banks in the State. In March of that year the "general" or "free" banking law was passed under which forty-nine banks, popularly known as "wild Cat banks" were organized, forty of which went into operation. By December 1839 only three chartered banks with one branch bank and four of those organized under the general law remained in operation.

condition of the State the affairs of the University were at a stand and consequently no appointments could be made at present. Other candidates appeared to have received similar answers—Is this failure good or bad for us? time will show—A settled home with 2000\$ per ann. was certainly some what tempting but then we must have lived in this odious country & among this people which are only worthy of it—Now we have the hopes tho quite in the perspective that something more agreeably located will turn up. Our plan now, is, to leave this place as soon as we can, go direct to Utica & there to make our head quarters for a few months Meantime Toulmin will lecture at the surrounding places—&c &c—We had an invitation to a gay route (200) a[t] Mrs. Larned but ill health & il humour at the place prevented our going—I must say this Mrs. L. is the most *Lady like* person I have seen here—Poor Mrs. Stewart has affronted Toulmin by giving up her own Old Country, entirely—she is a clever woman (a Mrs. Jackson of wakef[iel]d) but she is too much of a Saint—'Tis a pity here the women are occupied every evening with their Bible—prayer—and sewing meeting—to one of the last named I am going for the first time, to-night Toulmin being out—at Ann Arbor.

19th¹⁰ of this March I went to Ann Arbor for the purpose of delivering there a course of Lectures on Phrenology: induced thereto by the positive assurance rec[eive]d on the previous Tuesday on a flying visit that I sho'd undoubtedly have an audience of 40 or 50. This night I deliv[ere]d my first lecture gratis—of course audience pretty full but 2d night brought but 7 out of 40 or 50 & subsequent nights but little better. Here is another

¹⁰Smith's handwriting begins here.

instance of faith to be placed in American promises. The country of Ann Arbor is however far superior to this of odious Detroit. It is healthy wh[ere]as Detroit is the vilest place on creation's surface for every inducement to disease—with no possibility of exercise.

As far as our experience of American people has *hitherto* gone this is the result of our observation. There prevails a universal deficiency of conscientiousness. This leads them to neglect systematically every promise made—which promises are most abundant for the large size of approbat[iveness?]. It used to be a saying in many European cities "by the faith of an Englishman" to signify unquestionable faith. Certainly "*the faith of an American*" will become a bye-word for untrustworthiness & faithlessness. Another grand trait is the deficiency of Adhesiveness. There is *no social* intercourse in America. It is a thing totally unknown. The men herd together & seek after sensual pleasures—the women are neglected—and consequently seek refuge in herding likewise together & in concoct[ing] cant & humbug into the strangest compound of abominable sentimentalism & affectation & nonsense that ever disgraced society. The women in America are the most *dependent* creatures in the universe. They have not in truth half so much energy or independence as the women in an Oriental seraglio & not more intellect. Theirs is indeed *existence* & not *life*—It is sad & sicken[ing] to behold them.

But independence is a thing unknown in the U. S. No man appears here to dare to express an honest & open opinion if it differs in any manner from that of the multitude. Oh England! May never American institutions reach thy loved

& honoured shores if such be the consequences which follow in their train.

April 4th¹¹ On the other side I have pasted in a column from the "*Detroit Daily Advertiser*" of this day (Wednesday Ap. 4, 1838) as a specimen of the dignified & statesmanlike proceedings in the Legislative Hall of this "sovereign, free & independent state" of Michigan. This is but a fair sample of the proceedings of each day.

From Detroit Daily Advertiser of Wednesday
4 April 1838

BANK OF MICHIGAN.

In the House of Representatives, on Monday, Mr. J. M. Howard moved the appointment of a committee of five to investigate the affairs of the Bank of Michigan in pursuance of the petition of the President and Directors thereof, and report as soon as practicable. Mr. Henry Smith moved that the committee be elected by ballot. Lost. Mr. Smith moved to lay the motion on the table. Lost. Mr. Wakefield, seconded by Mr. Smith, moved an adjournment. Lost. A call of the House was moved and refused. The question recurring on the resolution, Mr. J. M. Howard, in urging its adoption, took occasion to read an extract from the Morning Post of that morning, reiterating the charge made by Gov. Mason. Mr. Montgomery tho't it not in order for the gentleman to read from that newspaper. Mr. Gidley thought it should never be read by *any* man. The Speaker decided it was in order. Mr. Howard finished reading the paragraph, and asked if, under the circumstances, an investigation was not an act of justice to the bank and its bill holders? Mr.

¹¹Mrs. Smith's handwriting begins here.

Ball said he could now perceive the object of the resolution. It was connected with the city election. What had that House to do with charter elections? Further, it had nothing to do with Gov. Mason's casual remarks unless made in his official capacity. He thought the matter ought not to be considered. Mr. Montgomery read the balance of the editorial article of the Post, that relating to the politics of certain officers of chartered and wild cat banks. Mr. Howard stated that the assertions therein made were not true. Mr. Montgomery remarked, that Gov. Mason, when he made the statements relative to the bank was talking politics with Roberts; that they were not proper subjects of investigation. (At this stage, members began to leave the House.) Mr. Buckbee said this was no time for an investigation. (He was proceeding when the speaker announced that a quorum were not present.) A call of the House was ordered, when but 21 members answered to their names. There not being a quorum, the House adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The subject was again taken up. Mr. Buckbee moved to amend the resolution so that the report of the committee should be published in the state paper as soon as convenient. Mr. Cook moved that the committee be instructed to report within three days. He supported this motion at some length. Mr. Buckbee replied and stigmatised the attempt to get the resolution through as an electioneering effort. Mr. Buel followed on the same side. He said he was in favor of an investigation, but would never consent to base it on the Governor's private conversation. Besides, the com-

mittee could not report in three days. Mr. Cook explained how the petition came to be sent in. A handbill had the day before been circulated by the foes of the bank, charging it with insolvency. This conversation of Gov. Mason had connected him, whether properly or not he could not say, with the handbill charges. For that reason, the affidavit was attached to the petition as the basis of legislative action. Mr. Henry Smith opposed the amendment. The question being taken, it was negatived—yeas 17, nays 19. Mr. Buckbee's amendment was then negatived—yeas 16, nays 20. Mr. Buckbee moved to give the committee power to send for persons and papers, also to examine witnesses under oath. Mr. Henry Smith moved a substitute so far as to require the committee to report to the next Legislature and publish the facts, as soon as ascertained, in the state paper. The motion was supported by Messrs. Smith and Lancaster, and opposed by Messrs. J. M. Howard and Cook. The substitute was lost, yeas 18, nays 18. Mr. Buckbee's amendment was then accepted by the mover of the original resolution. Mr. B. then moved that the committee publish the result of their investigation in the state paper within 30 days. Messrs. Smith and Lancaster opposed the motion. Mr. Butler moved 10 days. A motion here made to lay the resolution and amendments on the table was lost, yeas 18, nays 19. Mr. H. Smith moved a call of the House. Lost. Mr. Butler's motion was then negatived, also Mr. Buckbee's. Mr. H. Smith moved to refer the whole subject to the committee on banks and incorporations. Mr. Buckbee moved to amend by referring it to the committee on Indian affairs. Mr. J. M. Howard moved to add—"together with the Executive." All lost. Mr. H. Smith moved to appoint

a committee of one. Not supported. The question recurring on the resolution as amended, Mr. Lancaster opposed it. Mr. Buckbee moved a call of the House. Not supported. Mr. Buel moved to insert a clause making the investigation at the expense of the bank. Mr. Buckbee again moved a call of the House. Lost. Mr. Buel's motion was then negatived, yeas 11, nays 25. Mr. Buckbee moved to include all other chartered banks which had been slandered by the Executive. Mr. Buel moved a substitute, that the committee report to the house if in season, otherwise to publish in the state paper. Mr. J. M. Howard moved to add—"in pursuance of the prayer of the petitioners." Mr. Cook moved the *previous question*. Mr. H. Smith protested against this unfair mode of legislation, and hoped the gentleman would withdraw his motion. Mr. Cook replied, that the gentleman from Monroe (Mr. Smith) had himself moved the previous question several times during the session, and had refused to withdraw at his request, and was therefore the last man that ought to complain. He should not withdraw his motion. It was the first time he had moved it during the session. The House refused to take the previous question, yeas 18, nays 19. Mr. J. M. Howard's amendment was then carried, yeas 22, nays 15. Mr. Buel's amendment as ordered was then adopted. The question recurring on Mr. Howard's resolution as amended, it was decided in the affirmative, yeas 22, nays 16. Mr. Buel remarked, that he voted for the resolution, not because he was in favor of it, but with an expectation of hereafter moving a reconsideration.

The Chair then appointed Messrs. Cook, Buel, Buckbee, Butler and H. Smith as the investigating committee.

Below¹² is given a specimen of Michigan money a "shin plaster"—In the condition it is here it was recd & such is the general *current* money

[The specimen of Michigan money is pasted in the Journal at this point.]

April 23rd—A happy day this in the annals of our history for on this day we have left—we trust for ever—the City of Detroit & the shores of Michigan—Hateful disgusting country how wast thou misrepresented when it was told to me that thy soil was fruitful, thy climate healthy, thy inhabitants intelligent & hospitable. We have resided within the circuit of thy capitol for 7 months—came with favourable impressions, with numerous letters of introduction & with every disposition to make the best of every thing. What has been the result? Out of 8 letters of introduction only *one* has drawn any notice—All with whom we have become acquainted we have found selfish inhospitable & with no one idea save *money*—Thy soil is unproductive even of the *necessaries* of life—thy climate is *most* unhealthy. Devoted to speculation & gambling are all thy inhabitants & there exists not such thing as a circulating medium within thy bounds even for the common purposes of life—A parcel of rags—justly termed "*Wild Cat*" & "*Red Dog*"—r[a]gs issued by bankrupts & gamblers to impose on the new—are all the circulating medium existing & it need hardly be said do *not* circulate for none will trust them—Thy whole character can only justly be summed up by saying that *physically, morally & intellectually* Detroit is the meanest & the vilest spot upon creation's surface.

One characteristic of Detroit should have been noticed before—its *mud*. It is the common topic

¹²This entry in Smith's handwriting.

of conversation & exceeds credibility—After a little rain the cart wheels sink literally up to the axle-tree in the filth—*No single* street in the town is paved or lighted—This of course adds to the other numerous advantages of which the city has to boast.

As an illustration of the excessive low grade of morality of the inhabitants of this place it may be mentioned that one who had professed to be a zealous advocate of Phren[olog]y & to have exerted himself at my lectures & for whom I had done several drawings upon his very urgent & *continued* teasing became vexed that I would not (being busy & disinclined) draw him an additional head of Socrates. He straightway went to a magistrate—*made oath* that I owed him \$100 & took out a summons. It need not be said that there was not the shadow of a claim or pretence for a claim for one farthing against me—He simply thought that by costs he would frighten me into dr[aw]ing Socrates. I surprised him much by instantly taking a man to whom he owed money & whom I knew he wanted to cheat & getting him in presence of the other to demand numerous [?] [Jacobs?] became himself alarmed & knowing he had no *cause* offered to drop suit & pay costs if I wo'd give him a head of Socrates!! Here is modern Philosophy! This is however a fair specimen of the character of the people.

I shall¹³ only add as my testimony to the truth of the above that I am right thankful to be at this moment breathing the air at Buffalo on our return to the land of civilization. We arrived here this Morn[in]g (April 25th) after a most tempestuous tossing upon Lake Erie Our Boat was the

¹³Mrs. Smith wrote this paragraph. Her husband continues in the next entry.

most comfortable one we have ever been in & has the reputation of being the swiftest on the Lake but instead of a 24 hour passage we were obliged to put into port twice so that 50 hours only saw us to this place. On this our 2d visit to this place we discover that it is much more of a place than we considered it last Fall—it is much superior to Detroit in as much as the most of its buildings are of brick & its streets paved. We also discovered a Unitarian Church! Only think we are now treading ground made classic by the events of the late Canadian War—Buffalo has been the scene of *much* excitement but it is once again peaceable.

26th 11 o'clock A. M. Again at Niagara! And what a day—Dark & foul its appearance in the morning; in the afternoon, as we arrived, clear bright & promising, & then again just as we were most anxiously desiring that it should be fair in order to complete a much wished sketch clouding over & pouring again in torrents of thick rain.

Niagara seems to roar on this occasion with a fury & a thunder double that with which she greeted us on our first visit. This may be ascribed to the great quantity of rain which has recently fallen. The rapids boiled with far greater turbulence & seemed to seek in greater haste to pour their water headlong down the precipice as if to avoid the volumes urging them behind. We felt the effect of the cataract more distinctly for the house distinctly trembled. The solid earth shook beneath our tread as we walked along the banks. We determined not to miss seeing the Fall from the Canada side on this occasion as we were compelled to do last year by the weather & early in the afternoon crossed over in the ferry boat. It really seems frightful to watch from the high

shore the little boat tossing in the strong current of the stream; but it is perfectly secure. We found that the views on the Canada side far surpass those on the American. The whole of the falls is seen at once & with grand effect. There are two or three sublime views presented. One, from the bottom of the staircase just opposite the Horse-shoe fall is perhaps the most imposing. You are here just under the fall & to see it must gaze upward—It is awfully—terrifically grand—When we saw it there was just passing over a dark thick black cloud of extremely heavy & leaden aspect unbroken undivided by a sign of aught but gloom—The effect was indescribable—The waters—the immense body of the foaming cataract seemed to be poured out of this dark cloud—for nothing save the cataract & the cloud immediately above it could be seen—& the idea of *infinity* seemed here conveyed more distinctly than by any other possible conception.

From the top of Christler's Hotel, which is on the bank immediately below the lower fall on the Canada side & commanding a full view of both falls, the most extensive & command[ing] view of the whole falls & adjunct is obtained. You here see the falls themselves—the rapids—& up the river beyond Navy Island. We had determined upon returning from "Table rock" in order to secure a sketch of this view—which we visited first on crossing the river,—but by the time we reached Table rock the dark cloud already mentioned poured down in torrents & the spray & mist which ran from the fall after the storm abated entirely prevented our being able to obtain the *slightest glimpse* of the fall from the situation whence, but an hour before, we had beheld so significant a scene. The view from Table Rock is very fine in-

deed—commanding the Horseshoe fall *immediately* & the second fall in the distance.

In the neighbourhood of Niagara we visited the site of the battle of Lundy's Lane just above Drummond Ville. Here we were shewn two spots on one of which 10,00 on the other 14,00 bodies were buried after the battle—Many were not dead at the time.—Bones were scattered about. When I asked the man who showed us the spot why they burned them—it seeming rather an unusual mode of disposing of them—he answered with great simplicity "Because they were in the way."

We visited next morning Schlosser an old French fort 1 mile above falls on American side & near which it was that the pirate Steam Boat Caroline was cut away & burnt on the night of [the 29th of December]¹⁴ of this [last] year by the British. Just opposite is Navy Island—of recent note in the Canada "war." Opposite is the Village of Chippewa.

Of the fort nothing remains but the intrenchments which are still perfect & one solitary gate which lies in a ditch unhinged & without any posts or apparent place but evidently a gate belonging to the fort from its military appearance.

After breakfast we walked down the river below the falls about 4 miles in search of the Whirlpool We searched but found it not. We saw the river narrow & turn in several places & the current very strong & rapid but no whirlpool. We passed the sulphur spring which tastes very disagreeable. In returning we sketched a beautiful view of the falls—the finest we think on the American side. They are seen to great effect thus in the distance. But when nearer you require to

¹⁴Blank space left for date. The Caroline was destroyed early in morning, Dec. 30, 1837.

be *close* in order to see the grandeur of the scene. This view is about 2½ miles below the falls.

On the afternoon of this day we left Niagara by the railway for Lockport—On the way many fine views of the falls are afforded to us—the track passing for a considerable distance on the very edge of the cliff which forms the bank of the River. We arrived at Lockport in two hours—much of this line is precipitous & certainly dangerous there being many sharp bends immediately over precipices..

The Locks at Lockport we noticed before but will here give a more particular account of them together with a few particulars relating to the Erie Canal on which works these Locks are situated

Lockport owes its existence entirely to the circumstance of the Canal's formation. Several workman's sheds were erected here during the progress of the work & round them has gradually gathered a town—A gentleman informed me that when he arrived here in June 1822 there was not a vestige of any human habitation or any probability of its erection. It was the centre of a vast unpenetrated forest. *Now* the place numbers a population of upwards of 5000 souls.

The Erie Canal may be considered as the monument of DeWitt Clinton. It was he who projected the work & thro' whose efforts alone it was effected. He had few supporters in the measure His own friends thought it a wild scheme His enemies called it "Clinton's Ditch" & many voted for it because they thought it would prove his ruin. It has proved a source of immense good & wealth to the nation & especially to N. Y. State. It was thro his great exertions & his appliance to

the looking out for & obtaining supplies that the work was carried thro.

The Erie Canal was begun in 1817 completed in 1825. It is 363 miles in length extending from Albany to Buffalo. The expense of the work was between 8 & 9 millions of dollars.

All the expense of the work has already been cleared off by the revenue arising from Tolls & a surplus is now on hand. The annual revenue is \$2,000,000 of which about \$1,000,000 is expended in repairs & \$1,000,000 is an accumulating fund.

It is now contemplated to enlarge this Canal so as to extend its usefulness. On the 17 March 1838 an act passed the N. Y. Legislature granting a loan of \$4,000,000 for this work. It is calculated that the enlargement will be completed in 8 years & that it will cost about 20 millions of dollars. The Canal is now 4 feet deep & 40 feet wide. It is to be made 7 feet deep & 70 feet wide. The enlargement *commenced* before the act passed—the commissioners being able to do this out of the surplus revenue (\$2,000,000) in hand. It will now proceed rapidly.

The Locks at Lockport are one of the greatest on the Canal—they consist of 5 tiers of 2 locks each & rise like steps the one above the other. They are about 10 or 12 feet wide & 70 long—They will be increased in length to 120 feet but in breadth not more than one foot. The present locks cost \$250,000; the new ones will cost \$500,000. The aqueduct at Rochester which is likewise to be renewed will cost the same sum. At the town end of the locks on the bastion between the two locks is fixed a marble tablet with this inscription

ERIE CANAL

Let Posterity be excited to perpetuate our
FREE INSTITUTIONS
& to make still greater efforts than their
ancestors to promote PUBLIC PROSPERITY by
the recollection that these works of
INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT
were achieved by the
Spirit & Perseverence
of
Republican Freemen.

[Alas that Republicanism is so exhibited in the
U. S. that this inscription may be almost quoted
in satire.]¹⁵

There is another inscription at the other end
of the Locks—but I was unable to make out a
word of it from the circumstance of the letters
never having been blackened & I was unable to
approach within a considerable distance of the
tablet.

From Lockport we went (Ap 28) by stage to
Batavia & thereon by Railroad to Rochester—
Here we visited—which we had omitted on pass-
ing thro before—the Genesee Falls. They are
beautiful in themselves but after Niagara are
nothing & are spoiled by their waters being used
now to turn mills of various descriptions. Thus
is nature desecrated in her most lovely aspects in
America if only a few dollars can be turned by
this desecration.

Leaving Rochester in the afternoon of Sunday
the 29th at 2 o'clock we had a most miserable
journey by stage to Canandaigua a distance of
only 25 miles but which we were 7½ hours in
performing.

Monday morning (30th) left Canandaigua for

¹⁵The brackets appear thus in the manuscript.

Auburn where we arrived in the evening. Road better. Travelled at rate of 6 miles an hour—Canandaigua, Geneva (16 miles distant) & Auburn are all very pretty places.

On the morning of May day—day with anxiety anticipated,—we left Auburn for Utica—for the present the Haven of our rest. And here at length we have again arrived. We have quitted that odious Detroit to which ill fate led us owing merely & simply to the misrepresentation of Harriet Martineau—At great expense we have travelled thither.—In ill health & unpleasantness (owing merely to the vileness of the place) we have lived there Often we have longed again to see a land of comparative civilization & here at Utica we have at length arrived. May day 1838 is [hallowed] for this cause—May it prove an era in our history—for fain would we pray that something may be found by which I may be enabled here to fix our residence during our stay in America—It is a pleasant place There is evidently a more friendly disposition here than elsewhere *Heaven be propitious to these our prayers!*

Utica¹⁶ May 8th This is the 6th day of our sojourn in this place and from what we have seen it pleases us much The attention of some of its inhabitants & its more advanced condition in the common comforts of life appear in fine contrast with the wretched city we have left. The varied land scape which surrounds the town, forming in some points of view a perfect panorama, is a very agreeable change from the flat lands of Detroit: and from the richness of the soil and prettyly broken forest land we anticipate great additional beauty when [spring] appears in some of her verdan robes—This season is very late—even

¹⁶Mrs. Smith's handwriting begins here.

now the buds are scarcely perceptible on many of the trees and the *very* few flowers that are to be seen & those only in gardens look nipped & frightened We spent an agreeable evening last night at Mrs. Kirkland's Friendliness and Sociability presided and we both of us felt it was an evening in which we had improved. It was quite English in its ceremonies & interesting conversation flowed *naturally* throughout the time. This is the first time we have found it so nice since we landed—Several ladies have called upon us & if it were not that the horrid spirit of Calvinism reigns in the city I should much like to live here. Last night we heard such an unfavourable account of the southern States & their inhabitants, that a journey there is not a very desirable pastime. The tone of society is very low in the scale of morals & the comforts of civilized life difficult to attain. The value of life is held at nothing & a man is shot by the duelist or blow[n] up by the steamer without any compunction! a pleasant state of things truly—Toulmin gives an introductory lecture upon the "Opinions of the Ancients concerning the Nature of the Soul," this evening—he has received valuable assistance in making arrangements &c—from Mr. Whetmore & Mr. Kirkland—both of whom happen to be leading men in the place the result of course remains to be proved—

The Lectures succeed better than was expected
M[ay] 14th Monday On Saturday Mrs. Whetmore called—a most friendly woman—afternoon we rambled to the top of one of the neighbouring hills—the view was pretty we gathered a wild flower & enjoyed our ramble—

Sunday Morn[in]g we went to the Reformed Dutch Church the Pastor gave a very sensible discourse upon the evils of Revivals—one having

lately been got up in this city—Afternoon, we wrote letters home & read—but at night a Cat or rather Dogastrophe occurred Toulmin & myself had been asleep about an hour when he whispered “Martha do you hear that strange Noise”? our door had been left open to make the room more airy, it being a small one. We listened again & the noise to our ears sounded like the breathing of some animal; forthwith to our imaginations up rose in fearful strength, all the tales we had been told of vipers & other horrid creatures having been found in bed rooms &c—We were afraid to tread upon the ground so Toulmin by means of a chair & overturning a jug of water which stood in his way made his escape—I in a terrible fright took a flying leap from the bed to the passage & in my way contrived to bruise my foot in such a way that a lump the size of an egg instantaneously rose upon it: having gained our sitting room we lighted our candle & our fire & not venturing to return & look for our enemy till Morn-[in]g we lay for the remainder of the night on chairs.—Morning came at last—but no intruder was to be found all that remained to recall our fright was the Jug lying in a 100 pieces the chair in the middle of the room & our stockings & shoes soaking in the spilled water—

The only clue we can find to be the cause of such a dire calamity is a report of a dog having been known to be in the house sometimes—

May 28th Horribly dull grey weather—rain, rain, rain now for a week—it is well the inhabitants of this city make up by their attentions for the gloominess of the skies—The people are indeed very kind to us—tonight we are going to Mr. Mandeville’s the Dutch Reform Clergyman whom by the way we admire more out of his

pulpit than in it—he pronounces the word nuisance as *new-i-sance* & he is quite a priest in manner—T's Lectures on the Ancients are finished—they are very interesting but as they are merely interesting to literary tast[e]s can never be popular—in this country—however their proceeds will pay our expenses in this place—It is very satisfactory to observe the respect he gains amongst those *thinkers* who do happen to come—The McCall family I like very much, the old Lady puts me in mind somewhat of Mrs Alexander at Wakefield—Mrs. Tracy a sister of Mrs. Charles Kirkland brought me in a nosegay—the first garden flowers I have possessed since last summer at Birmingham

June 7th Oh Utica! were your skies less grey & gloomy a residence in your city would be much more agreeable, but successive days of gloom above & wet beneath are not those happy influences which tend to make the heart cheerful—However I must say one thing this dismal weather does not seem to affect the kindly feelings of its inhabitants several of whom have really shown us many attentions & by their manner show that the milk of human kindness flows in their veins, as proof of this, three bouquets of beautiful flowers have been brought to me, & a no less agreeable present though perhaps not quite so elegant, was a basket containing sundry—slices of *good* bread & butter!, (a rare article with us now a days), cakes & jelly!!! These good Mr. McCall thought would be grateful to the inhabitants of a boarding house—T's Lectures are upon the whole attended about as well as we were led to expect they would be—but to me it is an inexplicable thing—that the curiosity of the people cannot be more awakened I will do T. the justice

to say his opening & *gratis* lecture to Phrenology is a very interesting one & I am convinced would set me on the figets to hear the course—aye even to the curtailing of my glove & ribbon monies supposing I had no other means of procuring a ticket—but no—bonnets with heads within them come by the wholesale the first night—but no others—how is it? We do again begin to tire of moving about & now look forward to Boston with hope some arrangement may be made for us to pitch our tent there—As for myself—perhaps the first time in my life I quite long to have a house of my own—I absolutely detest these boarding houses One cannot have a friend to tea or to dine because what pleasure or comfort would it afford them to exchange a good wholesome home meal for a *heap of messes* & a seat amongst a parcel of toutish people! Oh money & judgement to make a right use of it—how much I wish you were ours —. The people in England have forgotten us—no letters for the last—last—6 weeks!

Sunday June 10th Surely this is one of the hottest days we are to have—Therm—F92—in the shade—I can do little else than sleep for if I sit long in one position even with an interesting book—off I am to the land of nod—As for Toulmin he is in a state of dissolution, merely kept together in his wonted form by the lose draperies which surround him—What will become of us if the heat is to be greater than this—I dare not contemplate—we shall become perfect sublimations of the Genus man—

11th—This Morn[in]g is a trifle cooler—the better for the thunder storm of last night. About 7 in the evening—we turned out to cool ourselves —& watched the progress of the storm clouds from the West—the heavens presented one of the most

curious appearances I ever remember—one half of the firmament was bright & clear while the other frowned sublime—a very dark cloud curiously taking the form of an arch spanned the zenith & thus formed as it were a boundary—through this Arc—the skies seemed as if closely reflecting a tremendous conflagration beneath them, & growing more lurid as they approached one spot—this illumined space was divided into two parts by a dark cloud, a partial falling shower which increased the strange appearance—The thunder was distant, the lightening very frequent & vivid—often appearing to dart up from the ground—it gained upon us & on our return [we] took shelter in Capt Mervine's who was standnig at his door—this is a family newly converted to the True faith—Phrenology—

June 13th 1838 A year back this was our Wedding day!! How quickly has this period passed—how like to yesterday that memorable day—This past year has been bright & sunny & tho' perhaps for the moment a passing cloud may have hung upon the spirit! it has only been transcient & has been succeeded by moments in which increased affection or respect have given value to the glooms—As respects our *worldly prospects* if not much better than when we first set out together, they certainly are not worse so that upon the whole the balance between good & bad is greatly in favour of the former—in truth we have *very very* much to be thankful for—& may our Heavenly Father grant that the future may have nothing worse in store for us—

July 4th Thermometer¹⁷ at 95 degrees of Fahrenheit—Blood heat—in the shade where no sun reaches it the whole day—This is glorious

¹⁷Smith's handwriting in this entry and his wife in next.

weather—Such balmy breezes floating thro' the air—There cannot issue from the oven door more grateful zephyrs—An only effort now can be—how *little* clothing we can manage to keep on in order to present decency. I have to lecture to-morrow night—My Lord! how shall I get thro'!!

This day is the anniversary of the "Declaration of Independence"—& a most sensible mode of keeping it they have viz—firi[n]g guns all day from 1 o'clock in the morning till midnight—to the no small discomfiture of all sensible people—Alas for commemoration days—

July 8th—It is early in the day but the heated state of the atmosphere promises *great* things for Mid-day—Yesterday we visited the *much boasted* Trenton & of course were disappointed—This failure in our pleasure might have been partly our own faults—for certainly ere this we ought to have learnt *how* to appreciate American admiration of their own scenery had we not heard so very much—we must have been pleased—are gratified for there really is great peculiarity in the scenery tho' to my feelings the magic of the place would be caused by the lights & shadows of moonlight & a more copious supply of water. The river is the West Canada Creek—which in its passage through a long narrow defile occasioned by an apparent rent in a bed of grey limestone gives a rugged & irregularly deep channel to the waters—which in a distance of 5 miles make a descent of 350 feet occasionally tumbling over sudden breaks in the rock which being fantastically broken & water-worn form some picturesque falls—partly, I presume from the heights of the enclosing sides which are covered with wood & partly from the great depth of the water in the fissure—in some parts the colour of the water is

most curious & beautiful—being either of a golden hue or of a rich dark brown—(like melted bottle glass)—The rocks are grey lime stone—remarkably stratified splitt very regularly at about 2, 3, & 4 inches in thickness & rich in fossils. Some large Trilobites were in the Hotel cabinet—While I was making a sketch of the chief of the falls Toulmin & Mr. Whetmore placing themselves picturesquely amused themselves with bathing their hands in the tumbling waters of the torrent.—Amongst the wild flowers which were not particularly numerous I gathered (a scarlet columbine) the wild rapsbery, & very beautiful kind of fern. but alack! I could not get them home before they were quite withered—The distance from Utica is 14 miles through a richly wooded & varigated country so the drive itself—excepting the roughness of the roads is by no means unproductive of pleasure—a comfortable hotel affords refreshments for which you pay a tolerable price & a return home the same day about *uses you up*.

Today is Sunday—all the parsons in the place insist so much upon Natural depravity & Original Sin that it takes away all comfort and edification attendant upon going to public worship—Therefore do we think it productive of more improvement to ourselves to stay at home & read Mark & inwardly digest such portions of the Almightys Works & revelations as fall within our path—

July 18th Night—All packed up & ready for departure tomorrow Morn[in]g—We have been in this place 2½ months & have met with continued kindness & polite attentions from many of the families How Different are the feelings with which we leave our soujourning place this time—

From Detroit we turned with disgust hence we go with the sincere hopes of sometimes meeting those acquaintances we have formed again—

In all the families we have known we have been gratified by the expressions of regret at our departure & I really believe there was *some* sincerity notwithstanding the full development of No 11 so universally found in American Heads—

Vocabulary of American Barbarisms consisting of *perversions of language* of slang phrases in common use & of mispronunciations

Ambition	word for	energy
Engine	pronounced	en-gyne
advertisement	prod	advertisement
Partizan	prod	pártizan
Horizon	prod	hórizon
Interesting	prod	interésting
Musquet	prod	musk-wet
Lieutenant	prod	lew-tent
Go-ahead	slang for	actg quickly
<i>Right away</i>	slang for	directly
<i>Fix</i>	slang for the performing of any act or arrangt of any thing in any way	
<i>I guess</i>	slang for an infinite variety of expressions such as I suppose, I think, I hope, &c	
Aboard—	used for any thing being ready in any vehicle	
European	pronounced	Európean
Opponent	prod	ôpponent
Reiterate	prod	reïterate
Massacre	prod	massacree
Harrass	prod	Harráss

Clever	for anything <i>ordinarily good</i> but <i>never</i> applied to <i>intellectl</i> power thus they s[a]y “clever man” for good sort of fellow “clever river” for one of good size.	
Ugly	applied to <i>moral</i> instead of phy- sical thus <i>ugly</i> man means one of <i>disliked conduct</i> .	
Exquisite	prod (short but accted “i”) Ex-qui-site	
Nuisance	prod	New-y-sance
Inquiry	prod	Inquiry

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